Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 BONN 16915 01 OF 03 232009Z

64
ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-14 COME-00 EB-11 LAB-06 SIL-01

DRC-01 /155 W
---------- 067899
R 231915Z NOV 73
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8872
INFO USMISSION BERLIN
AMCONSUL BREMEN
AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMCONSUL HAMBURG
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMCONSUL STUTTGART
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 16915

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, GW
SUBJECT: CDU NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTION, NOV 18-21

REF: (A) BONN 16052; (B) BONN 14758

BEGIN SUMMARY. PARTY CHAIRMAN HELMUT KOHL SUCCEEDED IN OBTAINING AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY FOR HIS PROPOSAL ON INDUSTRIAL CODETERMINATION (MITBESTIMMUNG). DEBATE ON THIS ISSUE WAS LIVELY BUT CONCILIATORY IN TONE. THE KOHL, CARSTENS, BIEDENKOPF TROIKA FUNCTIONED WELL.
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BONN 16915 01 OF 03 232009Z

WARNING THAT THE FRG HAS SERIOUS PROBLEMS, THEY

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

HAMMERED HOME A STRONG ATTACK ON THE GOVERNMENT'S DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES, EXPRESSED UNEQUIVOCAL SUPPORT FOR STRONG TIES WITH THE U.S., AND PRESENTED THE PARTY AS A CLEAR ALTERNATIVE TO THE SPD AND FDP. END SUMMARY

1. MANY FEARED ON THE EVE OF THE CONVENTION THAT THE PARTY WAS DEALING WITH THE "WRONG ISSUE AT THE WRONG TIME" AND THAT KOHL WOULD EITHER HAVE TO COMPROMISE ON THE MITBESTIMMUNG ISSUE OR BE FACED WITH SERIOUS DISSENTION WITHIN THE PARTY (REF A). IN FACT, ALTHOUGH KOHL MET SEVERAL TIMES UP UNTIL THE LAST MINUTE WITH SOCIAL POLICY COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN KATZER (LABOR WING) AND JUNGE UNION CHAIRMAN WISSMANN (THE CDU YOUTH ORGANIZATION), THEY DID NOT REACH A COMPROMISE. INSTEAD, KOHL AND THE EXECUTIVE BOARD PRESENTED THE CONVENTION WITH AN ONLY SLIGHTLY MODIFIED VERSION OF THEIR ORIGINAL PROPOSAL. THIS WAS COUNTERED BY AN ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL TABLED BY KATZER AND COMPANY. THE FIVE-HOUR DEBATE WHICH FOLLOWED WAS HEATED AND AT TIMES EMOTIONAL, BUT BIEDENKOPF AND KATZER, APOLOGIZING TO EACH OTHER FOR HARD WORDS EARLIER IN THE WEEK, KEPT THE DEBATE WITHIN BOUNDS. WHEN THE VOTE CAME, KATZER'S MOTION WAS DEFEATED BY A MAJORITY OF ROUGHLY 2:1. THE DELEGATES THEN VOTED 559 TO 97, WITH 11 ABSTENTIONS AND 10 VOID, IN FAVOR OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD'S MODEL.

2. THE MITBESTIMMUNG MODEL ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION PROVIDES FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PARTY COMMISSION TO FORMULATE PROPOSALS FOR A NEW CORPORATION LAW ENSURING "A PARTNERSHIP RELATIONSHIP OF WORKERS, SHAREHOLDERS AND MANAGEMENT" ON THE BASIS OF PARITY. UNTIL SUCH A NEW LAW IS DEVELOPED, WORKERS WILL PARTICI-PATE IN INDUSTRIAL DECISION-MAKING THROUGH THE COMPANY SUPERVISORY BOARD (AUFSICHTSRAT) MADE UP OF AN EQUAL NUMBER OF WORKERS AND SHAREHOLDERS. WORKER REPRESENTA-TIVES SHALL INCLUDE AT LEAST ONE BLUE COLLAR, ONE WHITE COLLAR, AND ONE MANAGERIAL EMPLOYEE. IF A TIE VOTE PREVENTS A DECISION OF THE AUFSICHTSRAT, MANAGEMENT CAN ACT ALONE. MANAGEMENT IS SELECTED BY THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

AUFSICHTSRAT; IN THE EVENT OF A TIE, THE DECIDING VOTE IS CAST BY THE AUFSICHTSRAT CHAIRMAN, WHO IS CHOSEN BY TWO-THIRDS OF THE AUFSICHTSRAT OR, IF NO AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED, BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF SHAREHOLDERS.

3. INTRA-PARTY DEBATE ON THIS ISSUE IS NOT OVER. ALMOST ONE-THIRD OF THE DELEGATES SUPPORTED KATZER'S PROPOSAL

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

CALLING FOR A MERGING OF MANAGEMENT AND AUFSICHTSRAT FUNCTIONS IN A NEW COMPANY COUNCIL (UNTERNEHMENSRAT) BASED ON PARITY AND IN WHICH MANAGEMENT WOULD NOT RPT NOT HAVE THE LAST WORD. THIS DEBATE WILL CONTINUE IN THE COMMISSION TO DISCUSS A NEW COMPANY LAW WHICH WILL BE NAMED JOINTLY BY BIEDENKOPF AND KATZER. IN THE MEANTIME, HOWEVER, THE CONSENSUS OF THE CONVENTION--AS EVIDENCED BY THE FACT THAT ABOUT ONE HALF OF KATZER'S SUPPORTERS ALSO VOTED FOR THE KOHL PROPOSAL--IS THAT THE CDU MUST STAND TOGETHER ON THIS QUESTION. THIS DECREASES THE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE CDU LEFT WING WILL VOTE WITH THE SPD IN A SHIFTING MAJORITY MANEUVER IN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

64
ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-14 COME-00 EB-11 LAB-06 SIL-01

DRC-01 /155 W
---------- 068075
R 231915Z NOV 73
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8873
INFO USMISSION BERLIN
AMCONSUL BREMEN
AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMCONSUL HAMBURG
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMCONSUL STUTTGART
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

THE BUNDESTAG--A POSSIBILITY WHICH HAS BEEN FEARED BY THE FDP AND WHICH, IN ANY EVENT, WILL DEPEND ON THE REACTION OF THE SPD PARLIAMENTARY GROUP TO WHATEVER LEGISLATIVE PROPOSAL BRANDT AND SCHEEL FINALLY WORK OUT.

4. THE PLAY OF RIGHT WING AS WELL AS LEFT WING FORCES WAS CLEARLY EVIDENT. MANY CDU STALWARTS WERE DISTRESSED BY THE FACT THAT THE CDU EXECUTIVE BOARD, IN CONTRAST TO THE CSU, HAD TAKEN A STAND ON MITBESTIMMUNG. THEY
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

FEARED THAT KOHL WAS UNNECESSARILY RISKING HIS PERSONAL POSITION AND THE UNITY OF THE PARTY ON AN ISSUE WHICH THE GOVERNING SPD-FDP COALITION WILL DECIDE ANYWAY. SOME ALSO BELIEVED THAT ANY FORM OF MITBESTIMMUNG SHOULD BE OPPOSED BY THE CDU AS HARMFUL TO THE INTERESTS OF BUSINESS AND THE ECONOMY. UNABLE TO PREVENT THE EXECUTIVE BOARD FROM ADOPTING A POSITION, AND ONE TO THE LEFT OF THAT ADOPTED IN DUESSELDORF IN 1971 AT THAT, THEY WEIGHEO IN HEAVILY AGAINST KATZER'S PROPOSAL.

5. THE CSU, REPRESENTED BY DOLLINGER, MADE ITS POINT LOUDLY AND CLEARLY ON THE OPENING DAY OF THE CONVENTION. NOTING THAT THE CDU/CSU HAD WORKED TOGETHER FOR 24 YEARS, HE WARNED THAT HE HOPEDTHEY
"WOULD BE ABLE TO CELEBRATE THEIR SILVER ANNIVERSARY." FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS APPEARED AT THE CONVENTION ON THE MORNING FOLLOWING THE VOTE ON MITBESTIMMUNG. HE STATED THAT THE CSU WOULD WORK TOGETHER WITH THE CDU IN THE BUNDESTAG ON THE ISSUE, BUT TOOK NO POSITION ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE CONVENTION'S DECISION, PROMISING ONLY "TO STUDY IT CAREFULLY."

6. STRAUSS ALSO LAUNCHED INTO A VIGOROUS ATTACK ON THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT, REINFORCING THE OPENING STATEMENTS OF KOHL, SECRETARY-GENERAL BIEDENKOPF, AND PARLIAMENTARY GROUP LEADER CARSTENS. THEY BITTERLY CRITICIZED THE POSITION TAKEN BY THE FRG AND THE EC ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND CHARGED THE GOVERNMENT WITH SOFTNESS IN THE CONDUCT OF ITS OSTPOLITIK. EMPHASIS OF THEIR FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENTS WAS ON THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF MAINTAINING AND STRENGTHENING FRG-U.S. TIES AND THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. ASKED IN THE PRESS CONFERENCE FOLLOWING THE CONVENTION

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

WHAT A CDU GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE DONE DURING THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS, KOHL STATED SIMPLY "WE WOULD HAVE STOOD BY OUR FRIENDS."

7. ON THE DOMESTIC SIDE, THE LEADERSHIP FOCUSED ON WHAT CARSTENS CALLED "THE SYSTEMATIC, PURPOSEFUL, AND SUCCESSFUL ADVANCE OF COMMUNIST, NEO-MARXIST, ANTI-
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 BONN 16915 02 OF 03 232031Z

DEMOCRATIC AND ANTI-CONSTITUTIONAL FORCES" IN THE FRG. THRUST OF THE CDU'S MESSAGE WAS THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS TOLERATING, AND SOME ELEMENTS OF THE SPD ARE ENCOURAGING, THE EMPLOYMENT OF RADICALS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE AND THE SPREAD OF CLASS STRUGGLE IDEOLOGY AND CONFLICT-ORIENTED THINKING IN THE SCHOOLS.

8. THE FDP WAS EXPLICITLY INCLUDED IN THIS ATTACK. CARSTENS EMPHASIZED THAT SCHEEL, AS WELL AS BRANDT AND BAHR, MUST BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR MISTAKES IN OSTPOLITIK. IN AN OBVIOUS REACTION TO THE FDP'S VERBAL SLAPS AT THE CDU IN WIESBADEN THE WEEK BEFORE, THE CDU LEADERSHIP MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE PARTY COULD MANAGE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 BONN 16915 03 OF 03 232031Z

64
ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-14 COME-00 EB-11 LAB-06 SIL-01

DRC-01 /155 W
---------- 068078
R 231915Z NOV 73
FM AMEMBASSY BONN

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8874
INFO USMISSION BERLIN
AMCONSUL BREMEN
AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMCONSUL HAMBURG
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMCONSUL STUTTGART
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 16915

NICELY WITHOUT THE FDP. AT THE SAME TIME THEY SUGGESTED THAT THE FDP CONSIDER MORE CAREFULLY THE COMPATIBILITY OF ITS OBJECTIVES WITH THOSE OF THE SPD.

9. CONVENTION DECISIONS ON INCREASED CAPITAL ACCUMULATION (VERMOEGENSBILDUNG), REAL ESTATE LAW (BODENRECHT) AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING (BERUFLICHE BILDUNG) FOLLOWED THE MAIN LINES OF EXECUTIVE BOARD PROPOSALS (REF B) WITH THE EXCEPTION OF BODENRECHT, WHICH WAS AMENDED IN A LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BONN 16915 03 OF 03 232031Z

CONSERVATIVE DIRECTION.

10. IN SUM, THE CDU BEHAVED LIKE AN OPPOSITION PARTY. THE KOHL, CARSTENS, BIEDENKOPF LEADERSHIP FUNCTIONED EFFECTIVELY, THERE WAS A DISPLAY OF BASIC PARTY UNITY, AND THE DELEGATES ENDORSED A CLEAR ALTERNATIVE PROGRAM ON ALL MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUES. THE CONVENTION RECEIVED A GOOD PRESS, AND OPINION POLL RESULTS ANNOUNCED NOV 19 GAVE THE CDU 49 PERCENT OF THE ELECTORATE, COMPARED TO 11 PERCENT FOR THE FDP AND 38 PERCENT FOR THE SPD.

11. NEVERTHELESS, THE ANSWER TO THE QUESTION "WHO IS TO LEAD THE CDU WHERE AND HOW FAST" IS STILL UNCLEAR. THE ATMOSPHERE OF TENSION AND DISQUIET EVIDENT AT THE OPENING OF THE CONVENTION GAVE WAY NOT TO A SPIRIT OF NOTICABLE OPTIMISM AND SELF-CONFIDENCE BUT RATHER TO A SENSE OF RELIEF THAT DISASTER HAD BEEN AVOIDED AND THAT THE PARTY IS IN FACT FUNCTIONING. KOHL, BIEDENKOPF AND CARSTENS SHARED THE SPOTLIGHT; EACH PERFORMED WELL. STOLTENBERG'S ROLE WAS CLEARLY

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

SECONDARY AND HIS PERFORMANCE UNINSPIRING. BARZEL BACKED UP KATZER IN A SPEECH ON MITBESTIMMUNG NOTABLE CHIEFLY FOR THE RIPPLE OF CYNICAL LAUGHTER WHICH MET HIS CLAIM THAT HE "HAD ALWAYS SUPPORTED" THE LEFT WING VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT. THE MITBESTIMMUNG DECISION WAS A CLEAR VICTORY FOR KOHL, BUT THE CONVENTION WAS ONLY THE FIRST ROUND FOR THE NEW LEADERSHIP. THERE WILL BE OTHER TESTS AND CONTINUING JOCKEYING WITHIN THE PARTY BETWEEN NOW AND THE 1976 ELECTIONS.
HILLENBRAND

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY LINE, POLITICAL PARTIES, PARTY MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 NOV 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973BONN16915
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731117/aaaaamln.tel
Line Count: 341
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: (A) BONN 16052; (B) BONN 14758
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01-Aug-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <25-Sep-2001 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CDU NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTION, NOV 18-21
TAGS: PINT, GE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005